

TERMS:
The Principia
Published Weekly, for the PRINCIPIA ASSOCIATION
at No. 104 William Street, near John St.
Rev. William Goodell, Editor.
Rev. O. B. Curren, D. D., Editors.
J. W. Alden, Publisher.
TERMS: Two Dollars a year, in advance.
Two dollars and fifty cents, if payment be delayed
3 months.
Fifty cents a year in addition for the paper delivered
by carrier within Brooklyn or New York.
Advertisements—Ten cents a line for each inser-
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our best efforts to give them the widest circulation.
All checks or drafts should be made payable to
"J. W. Alden, Publisher,"
Box 4381, New York.

CLAIMS OF THE COLORED RACE
on the Church, Government, and Country.

A DISCOURSE preached before the State Association of
Congregational Churches in the State of New York,
at Genesee, by Rev. Dr. Curren, on Jeremiah
22:1-5.

Thus saith the Lord, God down to the house of the
king of Judah, and speak these words.
Thus saith the Lord, God down to the house of the
king of Judah, and speak these words.
Thus saith the Lord, God down to the house of the
king of Judah, and speak these words.

Part III.
Now consider the exasperation of our wicked-
ness before God. We have turned the reason
which he gives for peculiar care of the oppressed
on the part of government into an argument
against their claims, because of the peculiar
severity of their oppression, because they are a
race not colored like our own. God's seal and
pledge of protection, we have turned into a seal
and pledge of abandonment and non-protection.
Because it is the colored race that are made the
objects of this cruelty, therefore the claims upon
government are not to the white race are not
only denied, but a claim and necessity of contin-
ued oppression, and of non-interference against it,
is presented and urged as forbidding its punish-
ment, as not only forbidding interference against it,
but securing its sanction as a right of the oppres-
sor.

And then, when the rebellion in behalf of slav-
ery had broken out in the form of secession,
though actual war had not been begun, a leading
Senator of the United States, speaking in the
Senate Chamber, Feb. 27, 1862, on behalf of the
Government and the States still in the Union, and
laying down the conditions of peace and compact
with the seceding States, in order to retain them
in the Union, and prevent war, speaking as by
authority for the whole North, the whole govern-
ment and country, said to the South and to the
seceding slaveholding States, and those threaten-
ing to secede, "We will not interfere with your
Institutions (of slavery) where it exists. Sir, that
is peace. And you must allow the free terri-
tories to remain free."

We will not interfere with slavery where it
exists, though it makes four millions of American
citizens slaves, with their posterity. That is your
Institution. You, on your part, must not inter-
fere with freedom where it exists, in the free ter-
ritories. You must allow us the boon, the preser-
vation of our liberty in the free territories; that
is all we ask—the non-extension of your slavery.
We relinquish to you the perpetual right of that
slavery, over four millions of our citizens; the
government shall not interfere with that, nor
attempt to protect their freedom.

Such was the compact publicly offered, as the
assurance of peace and Union. We will not inter-
fere with your institution of slavery where it
exists.
Now this was an impious denial of the ordi-
nance of God, and of his purpose and will, in the
establishment of government. It was, in effect,
the offer of a rebellion against God on our part,
if the rebels, on their part, would cease to rebel
against us, would not make war against us.

Accordingly, though the Senate and the coun-
try said, it is peace,—this arrangement secures
peace,—God said, it is war. It was rebellion
against God, on both sides, with the agreement to
cruelty, between them, the enslaved race—a
mutual innocent victim,—that the Union might not
perish.

We elected our President on the pledge of not
interfering against this wickedness, where it
existed, the pledge of not protesting, nor deliver-
ing the enslaved, the colored race, the pledge of
tolerating and maintaining their enslavement, as a
right of the States, where this iniquity was
practiced. We said, this is peace.
God said, this is rebellion. Henceforth we shall
have war. If we have not been faithful in that
which is another man's, who shall give you that
which is your own?

We went one step farther. God would try the
depths of debasement down which we were will-
ing to plunge. We proposed to amend our own
Constitution, so as to make it more acceptable to
the slaveholding oligarchy, so that it might read
in favor of slavery, and to make that amendment
of all others in the Constitution, unalterable, for-
ever, so that the slaveholding States might be
sure of an eternal hold upon their victims. It was
a very positive proof that the Constitution as it is,
does not guarantee slavery. It was proposed to
amend it, for the purpose of such guarantee.
The amendment was in process of being enacted;
the steps necessary were being taken; it was
proposed by the governor of New York to our
State Legislature; it would probably have passed
the country; when God interposed and saved
us from that madness and guilt, by the blow of
open war. The rebellion was established; the
amendment of the Constitution prevented.

From that time to this, the possibility of our
salvation has hinged upon the question of
what we would do in behalf of the enslaved race,
the question whether we would interfere to de-
liver and save them. Would we do justice?
Would we execute our own Constitution in their
behalf? Would we give the power and oppor-
tunity God had given us to set them free, and
stop this iniquity and cruelty of slavery from the
country and the government? Will we now take
God's side in behalf of the four millions of slaves,
and the whole race of the oppressed, for whom
God has himself arisen in judgment? Their sal-
vation, through our instrumentality, would be our
own salvation, but we cannot be saved without
them. Truly and nobly has Secretary Chase de-
clared that we cannot conquer, in this struggle, if
we take the part of the oppressor, for that one
poor oppressed negro with God on his side is
stronger against us than all the armies of the re-
bellion.

The colored race and the white are in the same
web of destiny, and our armies will have to cast

The Principia

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. IV.—NO. 30. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1863. WHOLE NO. 186.

lots for it whole, as the soldiers of old were com-
pelled to do, for the seamless robe of Christ. We
cannot divide the colored race from ourselves,
or exclude them from our own privileges.

As we decree in regard to them, so God decrees
in regard to us. If we agree to make of them and
their rights a mere convenience, God will let
other nations make of us and our rights, a mere
convenience. If we undertake to say that the
country and its freedom belong to us, not them,
God will make us no better than serfs upon the
soil. We tear ourselves asunder if we attempt
to root them out, and cast them off, as not belong-
ing to us, nor the country to them. The country
is theirs as well as ours, and theirs especially, be-
cause they hold a mortgage from God upon it
against us, for their back wages, and their oppres-
sion as merchandise.

Hence the madness as well as fraud and wick-
edness of the proposition to keep back part of the
wages of the colored men employed in military
service, for the purpose of paying the expenses of
colonizing them, expatriating them, after the war
is over. The proposition is publicly stated to have
been issued as a military order, just previous to
the late defeat of our forces near Chattanooga.
The crime of such treatment of the colored race
is enough, of itself, to turn the tide of victory into
defeat, enough to bring down God's thunderbolts.
This crime is greater than that of the flag, which
which such terrible flaming words of God's wrath
are recorded in the Scriptures. "Ye have heaped
treasure together for the last days. Behold, the
hires of the laborers who have reaped down your
fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, enrich,
and the cry of the laborers hath entered into the
ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." The gold and silver
hoarded in such wages kept back is canceled;
and the rust of them shall be a witness against
you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire."

The withholding of the wages of our colored
laborers in military service, in order to pay the
expenses of oppressing them after the war is over,
is a crime of which there has never been a record
in Jewry. If those old oppressors had kept back
the hire of their laborers, on purpose to pay the
expense of forging manacles and fastening them
upon the poor laborers as slaves when their work
was over,—that would have been a counterpart of
the crime proposed in the ordered treatment of
those colored laborers, in our military service.

We cannot conquer our enemies by such crimes.
We cannot conquer, if such instances of slave-
hunting by officers in our army as of those which
we have the documentary evidence are permitted
with impunity. When men can violate the laws
of Congress, and the laws of God, by returning
into slavery those who have been set free by our
own enactments, on the plea that it is better that
they return to their owners than remain with us,
inasmuch as we should have to take care of them,
and such outrages are not even rebuked, much
less visited with punishment, we have reason to
fear that the controversy of God against us will
only end in our ruin. Unless these oppressions
are prevented, and this fostering of slavery, unless
we repent and do justly, we cannot be saved. The
cutting down of the wages of colored soldiers
three dollars a month less than those of white
soldiers, is an act of national extortion and fraud
which, though petty and mean in comparison
with other oppressions, is nevertheless a robbery
of the poor, and a respect of persons, which God
will judge. So is the inquiry of paying the
owners of slaves drafted, three hundred dollars
bounty for each, while the poor slaves themselves,
so enlisted cannot have a farthing, nor their fami-
lies! The white soldiers are entitled to the bounty,
not the blacks.

The pretended owners of black soldiers pro-
fessing loyalty, are paid three hundred dollars
bounty a head, for slaves for whom they could
not get fifty dollars in the market, and the de-
franded colored soldier not only cannot touch
this bounty, but his wages are cut down three
dollars a month below the pay of the whites, be-
sides the oppression of withholding from him
forty-two dollars a year for clothing, that sum
being allowed to the white soldiers, but not to the
colored.

If the United States government and people
expect to make enough by these petty extor-
sions and oppressions to serve as an offset against
God's indignation, it is a great mistake. We
rejoice without our host, if we imagine that these
villanies can be continued with impunity. Much
is said about fighting battles on the Sabbath; and
it is noted that the Sabbath had been appointed
as the day for the last intended attack on Char-
leston, when the disaster to the Ironsides inter-
vened to prevent it. But what is the fighting on
Sunday, in comparison with stealing and oppres-
sion, all the week? Fighting on Sunday as an
exception regarded as a work of necessity, and
defending and oppressing every day, by law and
on principle!

There is now no salvation for us, but in doing
justice to the colored race. They still lie before
us, on the great rail-track of our country's des-
tiny. If we are willing to take them on board,
and deal justly by them, we may be saved; but if
we undertake to ride over them by restoring the
Union with them, in the same condition as before,
not only they, but we shall be thrown from the track
and perish. Our Secretary of State may fix his
switches at his pleasure, according to his diplo-
matic time-table at the outset, and our Chief Mag-
istrate may play the Conductor, and manage the
brakes; but if the rule is, No colored men allow-
ed in these cars, then we go down the embank-
ment, and nothing can save us. The God of the
oppressed has endured our injustice, to the last
limit.

And the question has run far ahead of the
point where we were, two years ago. Then the
question was, What shall we do with the blacks?
Now the question is, What will they do with us?
They are to be freed, inevitably. There is no
more doubt in regard to that, than there is that
the water at Gona's Island will go over the Falls,
and reappear in an undisturbed tide of power
and majesty. The rebellion and war are, for them,
certain ultimate deliverance; but for us, what it
will be, do not yet appear, because we have not
yet taken our position on principle; we have not
yet taken God's side.

Here, then, opens before us the grand duty of
church, government and country, the duty of
UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, and that before our re-
luctance and national proclamation shall have
rendered it an impossibility, shall have put it
out of our own power, though still sure to be ac-
complished by the glorious providence of the Al-
mighty. The question is now whether we will
get on board the Ark of that providence, or take
a craft of our own building, the old slave ship
raced, with freedom on the quarter deck, and
slavery in the fore-castle. Do we mean to make
an end of this iniquity, or will we still sanction

it as the right of loyal States under our govern-
ment?

Here is the controversy between us and God,
and it never can be settled until we come to his
terms. Is the Proclamation of the President such
a settlement? Are not such conditions now at-
tached to the fulfillment of that Proclamation, as
will constitute a violation of the pledge, and
limit the freedom promised in it, to those whom
our armies set free, or who themselves shall be
found to have come over from the rebel lines to
ours, to fight our battles for us? The answer
to these questions we must reserve to another oc-
casion.

Now is the accepted time, and to-day is the day
of our salvation. To-morrow the opportunity
and the gift may be withdrawn from us.

Our past dangers and sufferings, and the pres-
ent peril of our country, call on us for renewed
activity and vigilance while it is day; for the
night cometh in which no man, but rogues and
villains will be found working, unless good men
and true unite and do their duty by the daylight.
We must walk in the light of our Constitution, as
well as of the Word of God; and if the people
will not of their own accord, come forth into that
light, we must pour it upon them. The conflict
will be concentrated on the interpretation of the
Constitution, and it will be found that the Presi-
dent's Emancipation Proclamation can be sus-
tained and carried out only on the grounds of the
Constitution, as requiring the protection of all
persons, black or white, in the right of personal
liberty, irrespective of any other condition, than
that of being born in the country or naturalized
under the Constitution; irrespective of any special
service rendered to the country or the govern-
ment either in peace or war, either as soldiers,
laborers, or so-called slaves.

As persons, as human beings, under the govern-
ment and Constitution, and from whom the govern-
ment claims allegiance, they have a right to the
protection of the government, in their freedom;
and neither President, nor government, nor State,
have any right to impose any condition of
freedom, or to exact any services, the ground on
which their freedom is to be guaranteed. Their
freedom is not a gift of the government. Con-
stitution, but an inalienable right from God, and
the government and Constitution now appointed
and established for the protection of that right,
which belongs not to the government to give, but
only to establish and defend.

The President has therefore no right to affix
any condition to the Proclamation of Emancipa-
tion, nor any right to restrict the right of freedom
or of its guarantee by the government, to such as
may perform certain conditions, whether of stat-
ing their lives for the government, or of coming
over into our lines, and taking arms for us as sol-
diers, or of fighting against the rebellion, and so
making themselves free. The proclamation de-
clares that all the slaves in rebellion are free,
forever, without any condition imposed on them
to fulfill, or any promise that they shall be free on
fulfillment of such condition. And no such con-
dition can now be pretended or suggested, and its
fulfillment required of them, or the proclamation
regarded as not binding in regard to them, with-
out perjury and man-stealing on our part.

LEGAL RULES OF INTERPRETATION.
Applied to the Constitution

[In Continuation.]
We proceed to cite some further legal rules of
interpretation, which, with the preceding ones,
should be carefully studied, laid up in memory,
and preserved on file, for ready reference, when-
ever, in conversation, or in public discussion,
the Constitution comes up for consideration. It
is of unspeakable importance for a free people,
that they thoroughly understand their own free
Institution, if they place any value on them, and
wish to preserve them. To a people ignorant of
their own Constitution, or regardless of it, no ar-
ray of armed forces can afford any protection.

To fight for our Union and Constitution, and
then give them up, for safe keeping, into the
hands of tyrants, traitors, demagogues, dog-
faces, and pettifogging politicians, for extor-
sion, safe-keeping, and application, would be like
fighting for the defense of our dwelling houses from
burglars and incendiaries, and then putting the
keys into the hands of their tools and accom-
plices. No amount of bravery or of military
strategy can compensate for such folly. Why
fight, to defend your house, unless you intend to
keep possession of it and its contents, fixtures and
furniture, to see and know, for yourself, what
they are, and make constant use of them, for the
purposes for which they were designed!

IV. INTERPRETATIONS MUST CONFORM TO
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES, JUSTICE, COMMON LAW,
AND THE PUBLIC GOOD.
The Supreme Court of the United States says:
"Where rights are infringed, where fundamental
principles are overthrown, where the general sys-
tem of the laws is departed from, the legislative
injunction must be expressed which irresistibly de-
mands, to induce a course of justice to suppose a
design to effect such objects."—2 Cranch, 490.
2. Words of a statute ought not to be interpreted
to destroy natural justice.—Viner's Abridg-
ment, sect. 136.
3. No statute is to be so construed as to defeat
its own end, nor so as to operate against reason
or so as to punish or damnify the innocent, nor
so as to delay justice."—6 Duer, 596.
4. "Statutes are to be construed in reference to
the principles of the common law."—Chancellor
Kent, 1 Kent, 468.

5. Coke says: "It is a maxim in law that the
construction of a law shall not work an injury."
And again: "When the construction of any act
is left to the law, the law which abhors injury
and wrong, will never so construe it that it shall
work a wrong."—Coke, 133, 42.
6. "If the words of a statute be obscure, they
shall be expounded most strongly for the public
good."—Plofowden, 82.

Who can say that these rules are not wise, just,
honest, and necessary for the purposes of govern-
ment? Who will deny that the opposites of them
would be unjust, dishonest, subversive of all
good government, and fatal to the rights and
liberties of the people?

Who can deny that the application of these
rules to the Constitution, would not sweep away
each and every one of its pretended compromises,
compacts, guarantees, and sanctions, in favor of
slavery? Who can say that such application of
them would not confirm every claim ever set up
by radical political abolitionists, in favor of a
National abolition of slavery? But we proceed.

V. INTERPRETATIONS SHOULD FAVOR LIBERTY.
1. "Wherever the question of liberty seems
doubtful, the decision must be in favor of liberty."
—Digest, (Common Law.)
2. The same principle was laid down by the
Supreme Court of Mississippi, in reference to the
claim of a slave for freedom. "Is it not an un-
questioned rule," said the Judge, "that in mat-
ters of doubt, courts must lean in favor of free-
dom?" (In favor of life and liberty.)—Harvey
v. Decker, Mississippi Reports, 36.

[Apply this rule to the interpretation of the
Federal Constitution, and not a single syllable of

it can be construed in favor of slavery. The rule
is as good for the four millions of slaves, as for
the one that was liberated by this rule in Missis-
sippi.]

VI. THE CONSTITUTION MEANS WHAT IT SAYS.
1. The Supreme Court of the United States
says: "The intention of the instrument must pre-
vail; this intention must be collected from the
words."—12 Wheaton, 332.

2. Story says: "We must take it to be true
that the legislature intend precisely what they
say."—2 Story's Circuit Court, Rep., 663.

Is not this right? Does it not commend itself
to every man's conscience, and common sense?
And how can any man, with a clear conscience,
and in the exercise of common sense, refuse to let
the Constitution mean precisely what it says, in
the clauses thereof, claimed for slavery, on the
one hand, and in the clauses thereof, claimed for
freedom, on the other?

Doing this, can any other result be reached but
a National abolition of slavery, by and under the
Constitution? W. G.

FOR THE PRINCIPIA.
EVIL TO HIM THAT EVIL DOES.

Truths exist in morals as well as physics, in
mind as well as matter. From the perfection of
the ruler, we must infer the perfection of his
rule. This implies undeviating regularity. A
rule once perfect can only continue so, on the
ground of no change. These facts at once set
forth that with God, there is indeed "no variableness
or even shadow of turning." Being the Father
of Lights from whom cometh every good and per-
fect gift, He cannot afford to change. The cost
were infinite and irreparable.

All this is generally conceded, by even ordinary
thinkers, as applied to mere matter. None but
the most ignorant dare to question the inflexible
laws of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. The
most unenlightened and even superstitious minds,
has learned to expect the eclipse, as his almanac fore-
tells it. But the mighty and the noble in the
modern science of statesmanship seem to doubt
whether God's Justice and Laws are invariable, in
mind and morals. Trained from their youth to
policy, they come to regard it as the beginning
and end of all success. Habit, in such cases, be-
comes with them second nature, in a two-fold
sense. And yet all such notions are vain and
worse than vain, if the Lord rules all things by
undeviating laws. Even less than this must over-
turn the policy and strategy of ungodly men.
Grant that He is just in all His ways, and it
follows that every species of injustice must meet
its desert. Hence instead of success,—however
conceived in the deepest policy, or executed by
the most consummate strategy—it is certain to
end in defeat. Nothing can cover it from the
all-seeing eye of Justice, or screen it from the
boom of well-deserved penalties. There may in-
deed seem to delay and hesitancy in the adminis-
tration. "Because sentences against an evil work
are not executed speedily, therefore the heart of
the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil."—
Ecc. 8:11. But yet God is "not slack" nor cer-
tain, in this fearful matter. The day of reckon-
ing will come. Even in physical science, pen-
alties are not instantly enforced against every vi-
olation of Law. Arsenic may lie in the stomach
for twenty-four or even forty-eight hours, ere it
issues in death. Other poisons, such as alcoholic
and drugged liquors, are usually still more slow
in their terrible and yet equally certain work.
The virtue of a rabid animal will course through
the victim's veins, for weeks, months and some-
times years, before it ripens into its terrific fruits.

But in such an hour as ye think not, the mon-
ster cometh. Who then, able even to crawl, in
logic, can doubt that the same is true in the
science of mind and morals? Shall we not here, as
in matter, reap as we sow? Where, in the wide
annals of the world, can we find an exception?
Has it not always and everywhere been meas-
ured to persons as they met? David says to the
Lord, "With the merciful thou wilt show thyself
merciful; with an upright man thou wilt show
thyself upright; with the pure thou wilt show
thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt show
thyself froward."—Ps. 18: 25, 26. The latter al-
legory must be as true as the former, nor any
the less important. Why then attempt to ignore
such an inflexible Law? Jefferson did not, when
exclaiming "I tremble for my country." He saw
the injustice, the inexcusable oppression, and
whether Infidel or Christian, touching the scrip-
tures, his philosophy led him to see the end. As
the astronomer sees, through his great telescope,
the sweep of the approaching comet, so did this
statesman see, through his grand telescope of Jus-
tice, the torrent of blood now upon us. Refusing
to believe this foretelling—so infallible as the
calculation of an eclipse—how is it that the
dreadmost conservatism can still blunder on, in
darkness, since the event has come? If leniency
forgive the past, how can it overlook the present
and the future? In the times of ignorance God may
wink, but now commands all men, everywhere, to
repent!

But the most aggravating of all blunders is
that which attributes the just penalties upon us,
to those good and wise men who foretold and
warned the people against them! Such an out-
rageous charge virtually asserts, that had not the
matter been seen and faithfully predicted, it had
not come. That is, had all the watchmen on the
walls kept still, perceiving recalcitrant alike to
their solemn trust, the enemy had stayed! Had
Gallio said nothing, the sun had gone on, ac-
cording to the old catholic creed, around the
earth!

The study therefore, the knowledge and the
application of simple truth, is dangerous and
to be punished! This, of course, attacks, more
vehemently than did Voltaire, the Gospel of our
blessed Saviour! Unless traitorous men can be
found who, like the scribes and Pharisees of old,
are willing to pervert it in favor of the grossest
errors, and vices, it is to be put down, under
the cry of radicalism, fanaticism and the like. But
as Gallio said, in retreating, after his forced re-
traction, "The earth still moves," so may we say—
were all the Christians put to death—"It shall be
measured to you as ye mete." "Can a fig tree
bear olive berries? Or a vine figs? But a few
plain statements of facts, are needful to clearly
establish this and other positions of our article.

I. The slave power—not the abolitionists—have
ruled our Government, not from the beginning,
for at least thirty or forty years past, and yet
a terrible conflict, blood and death are upon us.
Just as impossible, therefore, that anti-slavery men
should have produced the war, as that the lamb
below the wolf should rise his water. Nor Elijah
but Allah troubles Israel.

II. The election of Mr. Lincoln could not have
caused the rebellion. It existed, with preparations
to carry it out, long before. Besides, this officer
declared before his election, at Freeport and else-
where, his opposition to emancipation in the Dis-

trict of Columbia, without the masters' consent, to
the repeal of the fugitive slave act, to the inter-
diction of the interstate slave trade,—and also to
the old Wilmost proviso—at least so far as keeping
out of the Union, States applying with slavehold-
ing Constitutions. His inaugural likewise gave
pledges to protect rather than disturb the slave-
holders.

III. The rebellion had long ago been sup-
pressed without freeing the first slave, had it been pos-
sible so to do. The most consummate policy of
civilized men ever assembled to empower an
army, have been put in requisition to that end, and
after failure has been the result. The President
himself, who so far staked his reputation upon
this conservative policy as to reverse the emanci-
pating proclamation of two of his ablest Generals,
has openly proclaimed to the nation and the
world, that emancipation has become a military
necessity!

IV. Finally, what more can be needed to prove
that the war, with its untold horrors, has arisen
out of the vile system of slavery, and can only
cease safely, by removing forever its cause? The
evil we have long, as a nation, inflicted upon the
poor, is now upon us, nor will it stay till we
repent.

W. P. L.
Chapter 7, Illa. Infy.

MR. SENIOR'S LETTER TO THE TIMES.
LETTER CLXXVII.

To the Editor of the Bradford Advertiser.
Sir,—The first living political economist in
England, and one of the first lawyers besides, has
addressed a letter to the Times, which appeared
on the 1st of August, under the signature of
STANLEY, and signed Nassau W. Senior. No
hunter after notoriety, he has always eschewed
politics; and declined being in parliament, though
several times have been named. There is not
another man in England could have done the
thing he has.

His object is to call the attention of every man
whose attention is worth having, to the plan
which is going on for involving England in a war
with the Northern States, taking you all, or so
many of you, as anything more can be got out of,
and stopping all the chances of useful reforms, as
was the Roman policy, if you like to have Latin
quoted for it, and has been, the policy ever since.

As precise words are of importance, they will
be given here. It was not everybody knew, that
Saul was so far to be counted on, as among the
prophets.
The letter says to the Editor of the Times, as
follows:

"I read to-day with great pleasure your remarks
on the vessels now building, or rather built, in
Britain, for the use of the Confederates. You
have argued with force and with truth, that to
let them go forth to prey on Federal commerce
will be an offence against international law, and
also against the spirit, and probably against the
words when correctly interpreted, of our consti-
tutional law. You have shown that it is our duty
and our interest to prevent this offence from
being committed, and not to let it take place and
lament over it when it has become irremediable."
"For if these vessels once get out,—any even if
only one of them gets out, and receives a Con-
federate commission, we shall then have no right
to arrest her, and the Federals, as we know from
experience, will not let us do so."
"And this is a matter not of months, perhaps not
of days, not even of hours. I am not informed
what is the state of preparation of the ship in the
 Clyde, but I am told that those in the Mersey are
ready. An acquaintance of mine passed last week
the Florida hovering in the Irish Channel, for the
purpose of joining and arming them."

It appears to me, however, that you have omit-
ted one, and that a very important, motive for the
immediate interference of our Government, and
that is the effect which its torpidity will pro-
duce on the feeling and conduct of the Fed-
erals.

"I have conversed, during the last month, with
Americans of both parties. On one subject only
are they unanimous, and that is that the escape
of these vessels will produce the evil, which we
are excited to prevent, and which we are now
endeavouring to prevent,—a war with the North.
"They all believe that, whatever be the wish of
the Northern Government, the indignation and
rage of the Northern people will force it to de-
clare war. This is the expectation of my Federal
friends, who look on a war against us with hor-
ror, and as our Confederate friends, who exult in
it. They all believe that the object of the war, in
their utmost penny, they are spending hundreds
of thousands on these ships. The ravages of the
Alabama and the Florida do not seriously injure
the military force of the Federals, but they en-
rage them. The Confederates have no ways look-
ed to foreign support. They long hoped that
want of cotton would lead the English ship-build-
ers to do so. A few months ago I had a conver-
sation on this subject with a distinguished Ameri-
can statesman (Mr. Dayton, the Federal Minister
in Paris), a man of great talents, knowledge, and
calmness. I thought it so important that I made
a note of it. That note I append to this letter."

Should, of course, have asked Mr. Dayton's per-
mission to do so, if the matter was less urgent.
But he may be absent from Paris. Four or five
days might pass before I could obtain that per-
mission, and four or five days hence all may be
over.

"I throw myself, therefore, on his mercy, and
hope that he will allow my wish to contribute to
the aversion of so tremendous a misfortune as a
war between England and the United States, by
being a sufficient apology for the publication of a
private conversation."

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient serv-
ant.
Kensington, May 28.

I perceive I have given you the whole of the
letter, for there was no telling where to stop. But
it is followed by the note taken by the conversa-
tion with Mr. Dayton:—containing matter which
ought to be read and studied by every working
man who thinks he is anything but a sponge for
disbustion power to press. Time was, that in vain
the suffering people would have said, "What French
demagogue was it, who had taken part in a gen-
eral strike, and not by the smallest sound of
religion of building pirates in their ports to ac-
tually the semblance of peace. The Americans would
be only fit to be driven in a team three abreast,
under the lash of a whip, and that is the thing
counted on. You have your enemies at all cor-
ners; wherever you look, you will hardly be
wrong, particularly after those, who tell
you that they oppose Slavery as much as anybody
but take all practicable means to help it. Our
cat, too, which might have done us some good,
in the country till February. Truly our case is
like the ill-roasted oxen. They will have all
their own way yet, unless we have great luck.
Mentime Mr. Senior's letter will be appearing
every paper in the Northern States. One thing
be in your mind, whatever you may come to, and
that is, that all your aristocracy did not desert
you; but of that best kind of aristocracy, the
aristocracy of law, and of reason, and of humani-
ty, there were few who remembered they were
men, and took side with you who had only that
claim of common brotherhood to offer.

Yours sincerely,
T. PERKINS THOMPSON.

Eliot Vale, Blackheath, London, 17 Sept. 1863.

FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.
MAKAWAO, Maui, July, 1863.

Dear Brethren—Allow me to copy and send
you a few extracts from an address delivered at
Makawao, on the anniversary of our country's
Independence. They will show you how deeply
some of us, at these Islands, sympathize with you
in your efforts to save our common country from
the wrath of a holy God.

Your affectionate brother,
J. S. GREEN.

In examining the dealings of God with ancient
Israel, and with our own beloved country, I am
struck with several points of analogy between
them. Was he the Rock of Israel, the refuge, the
strength, the asylum of his people? Has he not
been so to us, as a nation? Did he find Israel in
circumstances of distress in Egypt, and with a
high hand and an outstretched arm bring them
out, and set them in a large place? And did he

